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MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Based on the recommendations of the Special Situation Group on December 28, 1981, the President has made the following decisions on actions to be taken immediately against the Soviet Union in response to their continuing involvement in repression within Poland:

- Suspend all Aeroflot service to the United States.
- Close the Kama River Purchasing Commission.
- Suspend the issuance or renewal of licenses for the export to the USSR of electronic equipment, computers and other high technology materials.
- Postpone negotiations on a new long-term grains agreement.
- Suspend negotiations of a new US-Soviet maritime agreement and implement a new regime of port-access controls for all Soviet ships when the current agreement expires on December 31, 1981.
- Require licenses for the export of an expanded list of oil and gas equipment (including pipelayers). Suspend issuance of such licenses. Oil and gas equipment will remain on the foreign policy control list for the time being.
- Do not renew US-Soviet exchange agreements coming up for renewal in the near future, including the agreements on energy and science and technology. There will be a complete review of all other US-Soviet exchange agreements.

The following items are approved but will not be made public:

- Attempt to assist Caterpillar in selling the 200 pipelayers scheduled for sale to the Soviet Union without incurring any legal liability for the US Government.
- Escalate radio broadcasting and anti-jamming activities toward Poland and the Soviet Union. Dedicate more radio transmitters, as feasible, on broadcasts to Poland.
- Call for an emergency meeting of the CSCE. Seek condemnation of Poland and the Soviet Union in the ILO.
- Continue policy established after Afghanistan invasion of no fishing allocations to the Soviet Union.

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- Review whether or not the Secretary of State meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko should be cancelled or rescheduled earlier.
- The Economic Working Group on Poland will study the invocation of the "exceptional circumstances clause" of the official debt rescheduling agreement as an option.
- CIA is to develop an inventory of items that the Soviets need most and items that would damage them most by embargoing.
- Continue INF talks.
- Conduct consultations with the PRC.

In all of the above actions attempt to have Allies join us as appropriate.

The items listed below are additional items that can be considered if conditions do not improve in Poland and/or there is an overt Soviet action.

PHASE I

- A. Expel all Soviet commercial representatives, close their offices and close our commercial offices in the USSR.
- B. Reduce Soviet diplomatic representation in the United States. Mandate that the Soviets can have no more diplomats in Washington than we do in Moscow. Reduce levels in both places.
- C. Seek condemnation of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.
- D. Discourage tourist travel to the USSR.
- E. Take overt action to initiate worldwide grain embargo against the Soviet Union.
- F. Begin overt talks immediately with our Allies to have the Siberian Pipeline Project cancelled.

PHASE II

- A. Impose a total embargo on all high technology items to the Soviet Union.

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B. Walk out of CSCE meeting in Madrid after denouncing the Soviets.

C. Recall Ambassador Hartman.

D. Announce US refusal to set a date for the start of START negotiations.

E. Conduct high-level, high-profile consultations with the Chinese.

F. Execute the special circumstances clause on Eastern European debts.

PHASE III

A. Announce we consider the Helsinki Final Act null and void.

B. Pull out of the MBFR negotiations.

C. Impose a total trade embargo on the USSR.

D. Ask Ambassador Dobrynin be recalled to the USSR along with the return of Ambassador Hartman.

E. Close US ports to Soviet ships.

F. Military Options - discuss.

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